

The University of Chicago

STORY MATERIAL IN THE DECORATIVE
ARTS OF CHAUCER'S TIME

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE FACULTY IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1931

By
CLOANTHA COPASS

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Since writing this dissertation, the author has married. Her future work will appear under the name of Cloantha Copass Kennedy.



III

HISTORICAL EVENTS

One of the most fascinating phases of the use of story material in medieval art is the representation of actual events and persons. The very early examples of this type were made for and used in churches with which the hero had some actual association. The earliest one recorded in England was the "cortinam" embroidered by Brithnoth's widow, Aethelflaed, as a memorial to her husband's bravery. As has been seen, it was made for Ely Cathedral, to which the "ealdormann" during his life had made various donations of lands and gold.

The continuation of this kind of memorial is suggested by two existing representations of heroes - each made some hundred years later, and each intended to decorate churches with which the men had been connected. The first one, over which there has been some controversy as to whether the actual workmanship was English or French, is the famous Bayeux tapestry. It is an embroidered piece, seventy yards long, narrow, exhibiting over five hundred figures, having borders of supporting illustrative material much as the scenes from the life of Christ were supported by Old Testament "types". It tells in detail the history of William of Normandy's Conquest of England. There was apparently some effort to preserve the characteristic appearance of the two enemies - they look like the portraits on their seals - and there is accurate presentation of eleventh century military equipment and costume. The

Bishop of Bayeux was William's half-brother, Odo; and he, too, is prominent in the tapestry. Whether he was responsible for having the work done in England or in France, or whether Queen¹ Mathilda herself embroidered it with her maids, it is interesting to note that in England is recorded no such recognition of the Conqueror's prowess. He does figure in the series of kings shown later on a painted window in Trinity Chapel, Canterbury;² but there is no detailed account of the Conquest.

A similar memorial to one of William's commanders exists, however, at Claverly, Shropshire. Roger de Montgomery was in charge at Hastings of the second division of William's army, the mercenaries. Wace in the Roman de Rou attributes to him the victory. He and his countess Adeliza rebuilt and endowed Claverly Church. During the late twelfth century on the walls of that church was painted a mural, fifty feet long, five feet wide, exhibiting fourteen figures. The episode so pictured is a feat of arms. There is difference of opinion whether the painting is based on the Roman de Rou and depicts Roger's victory over a gigantic Englishman at Hastings, or whether it represents an account given by William of Malmesbury of an encounter between William Rufus and Roger at Mont³ St. Michel and the king's subsequent pardon.

1 Edward A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England, Second Edition, revised, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1875) III, 563-72.

2 Philip Nelson, Ancient Painted Glass in England 1170-1500 (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1913), p. 118.

3 J. Charles Wall, Mediaeval Wall Paintings (London: Talbot & Company, ____), pp. 52-3.

Wall writes, of the latter opinion, "should this be the interpretation, it at once raises a painting of a secular episode into a religious offering." It seems, however, from the instance of the Brithnoth tapestry that no such reason for admitting secular material was necessary. Roger, like Brithnoth, was a benefactor of the church; it was regarded as proper that his bravery should be honored there. The same practice prompted, during the time of Edward III, the portrayal of Brithnoth with Wulstan, Osmund, Alwin, Elgar, Ednod, and Athelstan - bishops- on the north wall of the choir at Ely.¹

Lady Godiva (1040-80) was represented in the city which she saved on windows, now lost, in the two principal churches - St. Michael's and Trinity.² The famous ride was pictured in St. Michael's. In Trinity the artist, of Richard II's time, was more circumspect: he painted Godiva with Leofric, who held the charter; an inscription read,

"I Luriche for love of thee
Doe make Coventre tol-fre."

The beneficent lady was also liberal to the people of Herefordshire, and was honored in the chapter house of the Cathedral by a representation on a fourteenth century mural.³

1 Charles Edward Keyser, A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland Having Mural and Other Painted Decorations. Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, South Kensington Museum (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883) p. 97.

2 Dictionary of National Biography, XXII, 36. Coventry: Its History and Antiquities, ed. by Benj. Poole (London, 1870), pp. 58, 64, 191.

3 Keyser, List of Murals, p. 130.

She was shown there with King Milfred, Bishop Athelstan, Ethelbert, Wulwine, some early saints, and four pictures of the Madonna.

Later acknowledgements of gifts or endowments were usually made by portraits, though on the south wall of Henry V's chantry chapel in Westminster was carved his coronation -
1
the acclamation and the homage. And the founder of the library at St. Albans Abbey, Abbot John Whethamstede, is commemorated in the sixth window of the library by both a portrait and a very interesting inscription, which summarizes his claims much as the Bayeux tapestry does William's:

"A small teacher who taught, but himself needed teaching more, a shepherd of small account who ruled but himself stood in need of ruling. He laid aside the mitre and devoted himself to his books and to study, and then resumed the mitre and prepared this place for books." 2

Further use of historical events was, however, known in ecclesiastical art. The capitals of two Norman pillars at the east end of the aisles in the Abbey Church at Ramsey depict a battle scene not certainly identified. The figures
3
may represent William the Conqueror and his son Robert, or the fight, which the angels stopped, between Alfred and Guth-
4
run. Neither hero, in this case, was connected with the

1 Archaeologia, LXV, 173.

2 Cambridge Antiquarian Society, XXXV, 215.

3 Archaeologia, XIII, 142.

4 Archaeologia, XV, 304.

church.

Events actually happening at churches were sometimes represented in their decorations. Often the installation of bishops was so commemorated. In the fifteenth century windows at Great Malvern are shown two scenes connected with the founding of that church; Aldwin, the founder, with Pope Gregory; Aldwin presenting letters patent to William I.¹ Very old fonts - perhaps of Saxon work- at East Meon, Lincoln, Winchester, and Brighthelmstone Church, Sussex, depict quite probably the introduction of Christianity into those districts.² The one at Brighthelmstone exhibits three scenes: the baptism of some great man newly converted to Christianity, two monks in a boat - one carrying a pastoral staff - and probably on a religious embassy, and a priest kneeling to a man who offers him a cup.

More interesting is the representation in a circular glass medallion at Canterbury of the siege of that Cathedral by the Danes. In addition to the actual siege - a picture that bristles with spears and swords, and ladders - are medallions portraying two subsequent episodes involved in the event: the massacre of the monks by the invaders, and the deportation of Archbishop Alphege in a warship.³ The continued use of historical stories in churches is illustrated by

1 Antiquary, III, 12; Archaeologia, II, 60, has a slightly different interpretation of the same event.

2 Archaeologia X, 184; Antiquary III, 254.

3 Nelson, op. cit., p. 107.

the representation of Richard and Saladin, and Richard and the lion on the thirteenth century Chertsey tiles,¹ by the gold-embroidered sepulchre cloth portraying the "Battle of Rowncyvalle"² at Westminster, and by the tapestry depicting the life of the Duke of Burgundy, which Edward Lacey gave to the Cathedral at Exeter while he was bishop there³ (1420-55).

Meanwhile, the tendency to perpetrate interesting experiences or events or people grew, and such subjects were used in murals and tapestries of private dwellings as well as of churches. Henry II, humiliated by his sons' treatment of him, had painted in a room at Winchester a picture suggestive of their treasons:

"Contigerat aliquando cameram Wintoniensem, variis picturarum figuris et coloribus venustatam, locum quendam in ea vacuum regio mandato relictum, ubi post modum aquilae pullos ei insidentes, duos alis duabus et tertium renebus, parentem unguibus et rostris perfodientes, quartum nec minorem aliis in collo residentem et paternis acrius oculis effodiendis insidiantem....'Quatuor,' inquit, 'aquilae pulli quatuor filii mei sunt, qui me usque ad mortem, persequi non cessabunt. Quorum minor natu, quem tanta dilectione nunc amplector, mihi denique longe gravius aliis omnibus et periculosius non numquam insultabit.'" 4

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- 1 R. S. Loomis, "Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art," *PMLA*, XXX, 509. W. R. Lethaby, "The Romance Tiles of Chertsey Abbey," *Walpole Society*, II, 69.
 - 2 *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, IV, 365.
 - 3 George Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, William Roberts, 1861, Appendix, p. 328.
 - 4 Giraldus Cambrensis, "De Principis Instructione Liber," *Opera*, edited by George F. Warner, (London, 1891), VIII, 295-6.

During the next reign was painted the first of an interesting series of court pictures. Henry III had his court pictured at Dublin Castle in 1243.¹ In the next century Edward II ordered from Thomas de Hebenhith,² mercer of London, a tapestry with "Kings and Earls" on it, "for the King's service in his hall on solemn festivals." The price paid for it was thirty pounds, and the care taken of it is shown by two subsequent entries in the wardrobe accounts: that Thomas de Verlay should sew a border of green cloth around it to save it from being damaged when put up, and that Dom Ralph de Stock should keep it in safe custody.³ Edward III's court was painted by his order in St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster,⁴ and the arrangement of persons in this picture served as a model for the portrayal of Henry VII's court at St. Mary's Hall, Coventry.⁵ The will of Sir David Owen (1529) recorded "fyve peceys of arrays made with imagery of King Henry Vth, Henry Vith, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Gloucester, with diverse other great men."⁶ No doubt the tapestries portrayed some important occasion and had belonged to the testator's father, who had them quite probably from his wife,

1 "Depengi ecia faculta idem Deisiu Regem and Reginam sedentes cum Barnagio suo," Close Rolls, 27, Henry III, p. 1, M. 9.

2 Query: is Hebenhith written for Stebenhith?

3 Archaeologia, XXVI, 344; 9, 10, 14, Edward II.

4 Archaeologia, XXXVI, p. 438.

5 Archaeologia, XXXVI, 439.

6 Sussex Archaeological Collections, VII, 34.

Katherine of Valois.

Royal personages figured in the decorative arts as central figures in extensive series of pictures. Bishop Langton of Lichfield had painted in a hall he built there during the early fourteenth century the coronation, marriage, wars, and funeral of Edward I.¹ Thomas Madefrey in 1374 left two "costers" painted with the "history" of the Prince of Wales.² This record is very interesting when one remembers that the Life of the Black Prince written by the Herald of Sir John Chandos cannot be dated before 1385, nine years after the hero's death, and is preserved only in a manuscript fully ten years later.³ It suggests certainly a nucleus of popular material connected with that hero, whether the Herald used it or not. Maximilian of Austria sent, in 1478, to the Lord Chamberlain of England several tapestries, two of them of "Emperor Maximilian."

During the fifteenth century details of important marriages were sometimes recorded in tapestries. The betrothal of Marguerite of Anjou and Henry VI is so shown on a tapestry once at Hardwick Hall, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and two of the original four pieces portraying the marriage of

1 Browne Willis, Survey of St. Asaph (London, 1801), I, 377.

2 Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London 1258-1688, ed. by R. R. Sharpe (London, 1890) II, 90.

3 The Herald of Sir John Chandos, Life of the Black Prince, ed. by Mildred K. Pope and Eleanor C. Lodge (Oxford, 1910), XXXIV.

Henry VII and Elizabeth of York¹ are yet existing.

Richard II had a tapestry "with gold" described simply as "de Latymer." In 48 Edward III had been recorded a gift made by Lord Latimer to the king - a large "dorser of arras."² No further description of the hanging is given. The fact that the later entry is in a list of tapestries on many of which were pictured stories suggests that here were commemorated the fame-worthy deeds of some member of the Latimer house.

Before the date on which the gift was made, there had been four English barons by this name. Incidents in the lives of anyone of them might have served as model for this artistic representation. The first was a crusader, whose bravery was extolled in the Song of Caerlaverock; the second fought at Bannockburn. The last two were less picturesque in their endeavors. At any rate, it is possible to suggest that here was a portrayal, more elaborate than that of the Black Prince, of a contemporary or semi-contemporary hero. There is no lengthy literary work dealing with any one of the Latymers, but there may have been about one of them a body of popular material similar to that about the Black Prince.

Single battles were frequently depicted in the decorative arts. A Flemish chest of the early fourteenth century at

¹ Daniel Rock, Textile Fabrics, Published for the Committee of Council on Education (London, 1876), p. 96.
² E 101/397/20, m. 16.

New College, Oxford, is carved with the Battle of Courtrai.¹ Richard II owned a tapestry "de Histor. Conquest. civitalis Alexandre," probably the story of the taking of Alexandria by Peter of Cyprus in 1365. It is perhaps one of the two pieces described in Henry V's inventories as "de Historia Regis de Cipr' " and "de Cipro." This suggestion is doubly interesting in view of the facts that Peter had visited England in 1365, and that Chaucer had commemorated him in the Monk's Tale. Fastolf, who fought at Falaise, had at Castre² a tapestry portraying the "Sege of Faleys."

From courts and royal marriages and battles to a peacock feast exists, certainly, a gap. The portrayal, however, of such an event on the tomb of a man who had presided at one suggests an extended custom of perpetuating contemporary events in the arts. Robert Braunche was an alderman of no great importance in England; but he presided at a Peacock Feast; and his pride in so doing prompted him to have the event engraved on his tomb, thus preserving for modern students some information about those gorgeous ceremonies. The brass is dated 1354, and is preserved in the church of St. Margaret, King's Lynn. It shows the musicians who played as the peacocks were brought in; the tails and the skins, which were put back on the fowls after they were cooked, are seen;

¹ *Archaeologia*, LXV, 113, Plate XIV.

² *The Paston Letters*, ed. by James Gairdner (London, 1872), II, 467.

and the aldermen and their wives in splendid array are at the table. John Carter mentions a tapestry of a similar event of fifteenth century date but says that peacock feasts were popular as early as the thirteenth century.¹

The thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries had more romanticized representations of the lives of real heroes than did any other period. These stories were usually told in several scenes - so that tapestries often came in "suites", and murals covered the walls of an entire room. The fourteenth century inventory of St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, had listed a tapestry of the Persian hero Ottoman.² Henry V had in 1413 "1 piece de Histor. Ootoman,"³ which had belonged formerly to the Earl of Ulster. Philip the Hardy of Burgundy gave to John of Gaunt in 1393 some hangings on which were portrayed the history of Clovis.⁴ Three scenes from the life of this hero were on woven tapestries at Margaret of York's marriage.⁵ The scenes were the coronation of Clovis; the formal renewal of an alliance between Clovis and Gondebaut, King of Burgundy; the marriage of Clovis and Gondebaut's

1 John Carter, Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting Now Remaining in England from the Earliest Period to the Reign of Henry VIII (a new and improved edition), (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1887), pp. 103-4; Plate LXXII.

2 W. G. Thomson, A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times until the Present Day (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), p. 12

3 E 101/406/15. Account of Thomas Carnical, late keeper of the wardrobe and of Thomas Dalton, clerk, deputy of sd keeper. 1 Henry V.

4 Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean Sans Peur, edited by Ernest Petit, Collection de documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888), p. 547, note.

5 The dukes of Burgundy owned numerous tapestries on which were depicted brave deeds and brilliant alliances of the early Burgundian heroes. See Thomson, History of Tapestries; Achille Jubinal, Les Anciennes Tapisseries Historiées,...

daughter.

The life of Alexander the Great was, historically and romantically, popular in English art. Richard II owned a tapestry, "de histor. Regis Alexandri." Henry V in 1413 had another which had belonged to the Earl of Ulster. Edward IV bought in 1467 nine pieces of arras showing the same story.¹ A fifteenth century English drawing made for a tapestry, and now preserved in the British Museum, portrays the surrender of Babylon to Alexander and the hero's death.² Here the horse is interestingly pictured with two horns.²

In ecclesiastical decoration the two events connected with Alexander are romantic. The more important one is the celestial journey shown earliest on a Norman tympanum in the church at Charney Bassett,³ and on a number of misericords.⁴

R. S. Loomis points out that the motif of the celestial journey was used in England first in the southwestern districts, and travelled to the northeast - Cartmel, Darlington, and Beverley - where is shown a perverted treatment of the spears. He convincingly accounts for the use of the story in

1 Issues of the Exchequer, ed. by Frederick Devon (London, 1837) III, Appendix, p. 491.

2 Burlington Magazine, XLV, 61, Plate 1A.

3 C. A. Keyser, List of Norman Tympana and Lintels, p. 70; R. S. Loomis, "Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey," Burlington Magazine, XXXII, 136, 177.

4 Gloucester Cathedral; St. Mary's Church, Beverley; Wells; Lincoln Minster; Chester Cathedral; Darlington, Cartmel Priory. Francis Bond, Wood Carvings in English Churches, I Misericords (London: Oxford University Press, 1910), 81.

churches as being typical of the pride and fall of Lucifer. The other romantic episode connected with Aristotle concerns his tutor, and is drawn from the Lai d'Aristotle. It features the philosopher's debasement on account of his infatuation for his master's current mistress. A thirteenth century misericord at Exeter portrays him saddled and on all fours.¹ The episode is shown in more detail on a fourteenth century misericord at Chichester, and in even greater fullness on a carved bone casket of fourteenth century French work,² now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Henry VIII had at Nottingham three pieces of tapestry "of Charlesmayneverye olde and in manie places broken," and at Woodstock "two pieces of old Arras of King Charles." The two entries record evidently tapestries that had long been royal heritages, perhaps from the fourteenth century, when Charlemagne's popularity in English decorative art is first seen.

Thomas of Gloucester had two tapestries showing this subject. One was very large and very valuable: "un graund piece de aras.....d'or de le storie de Charlemayn." It measured twenty-four by four yards and was valued at 48 li xjs, nearly fifteen hundred pounds present money. Henry V owned four, two with gold described as, "Sy vees le Roy Charlemayn,"

1 This is Francis Bond's interpretation. Miss Phipson thinks the representation to be of Nebuchadnezzar's debasement.

2 Journal of the British Archaeological Association, V, 274.

and "Chi comence l'estory de Charle." The third one was large - twenty-two by four - but without gold; it included the twelve peers, with the caption "Dieu vous doit." Earlier from the Earl of Ulster had come one piece "de 12 dussiperes." Evidently, if one judges by measurements and description, Henry V's tapestries did not include those formerly owned by Gloucester. Six such elaborate pieces in the royal family within thirty years' time bespeaks an artistic interest in the life of the French hero parallel to that found in literature. The sepulchre cloth of the Battle of Roncevaux at Westminster has already been mentioned; and one remembers Wace's story of how the minstrel Taillefer at the Battle of Hastings encouraged the Norman troupes by singing:

De Karlemaigne e de Rollant
E d'Oliver e des uassals,
qui morurent en Renceuals 1

From that time through the fifteenth century, some phase of the Charlemagne cycle was known in English literature.² The scenes chosen for representation in the arts were probably with the French hero, as with Alexander, a mixture of historic and romantic material. In the will of Sir W. Estwong (1426)

1 Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. by Hug Andresen (1879), III, 348, 11.38-40

2 Twelfth century Story of Ronceval
Thirteenth century Sowdone of Babylon
Fourteenth century Sir Firumbras
Fourteenth century Roland and Vernagu
Fourteenth century Octuel
Fourteenth century Song of Roland
Fifteenth century Roland and Otuel
Fifteenth century Charles the Grete

are listed two "costeræ steyned de gestes de Rowland et Fyrombrae."¹ The deterioration which the character of the Frankish king suffered in the late romances - as the Four Sons of Aymon - is found, however, only once in the arts. Henry V had from the Earl of Ulster a tapestry "de Histor' Bayard." The story is not in other decorative arts, and its popularity seems to have been largely aristocratic.

From the late fourteenth century, the Nine Worthies were occasionally represented in English art. Henry II had a tapestry called "Vessi Dames de Noble affaire;" and another, "de Historia ix Conquest ." Fastolf had one, of the nine "conqueouris" at Castre: Nicholas Sturgeon's will (1454)² mentions "the hallyng with the ix worthy."³ There was "enamelled stuffe" of them at Westminster; and the Earl of Oxford had in 1513 a "single tapet, olde and sore woren" of eight "valiauntes."⁴ That the representation of both men and women was used during the early fifteenth century is proved by a tapestry belonging to Philip the Good at Dijon "des Preux et des Preuses,"⁵ but the combination is not found so early in English art.

1 PCC Luffenham 7.

2 The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London, Early English Text Society, 1882), p. 133.

3 MS Harl. 1419, f. 18.

4 "The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford," *Archaeologia*, LXVI, 303.

5 Eugene Muntz, A Short History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times to the End of the 18th Century, translated by Louisa J. Davis (London: Cassell and Company, 1885), p.138.

One of the Nine Worthies - Godfrey of Bologne - was the subject of as much romanticizing as were Alexander and Charlemagne. An exaggeration of his brave deeds at Antioch make him one of the three "Christian worthies." The great event of his life, the conquest of Jerusalem, was the subject of a tapestry owned by Thomas of Gloucester. It was described as "un pece Daras de lestorie Godefrey de Boillon florisiez de la gayn de la Citee de Jerusalem." It measured twenty by four feet and certainly represented one of the complicated battle scenes of which medieval artists were fond. Richard II's inventory has listed another tapestry dealing with the same hero, "de Godfrey Boloigne." Henry V had from the Earl of Ulster "1 piece de Histor¹ de Sege Jerlm," perhaps picturing Godfrey. An interest in the fates of rulers was responsible, perhaps, for the series pictured on certain late fourteenth century tapestries. Edward III had one called "de regibus exultis." Richard II's was described as "de Regibus in exilio ductis." These may have shown such groups of men as those whose stories were recited by the Monk of the Canterbury Pilgrimage or by Lydgate in his Falls of Princes.

Certain very early kings of England became, as the medieval mind would dictate, martyrs. They were shown first on the thirteenth century carvings on the West front of Wells

1 This could also represent the siege recounted in Titus and Vespasian.

¹
Cathedral. Each king is shown with the symbol of his martyrdom or with some other emblem indicative of his life. They are: St. Edmund, King and Martyr; St. Edward, King and Martyr; St. Edward, King and Confessor; St. Oswald, King and Martyr; St. Wistan; St. Kenelm, King and Martyr. There were also at Wells six kings without sceptres, probably representing those who abdicated their thrones in order to adopt religious lives.

During the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries were occasional representation of the kings who had become saints.
² Of this group, two had been popular in a pseudo-historical manner, since the thirteenth century: Edmund, King of the West Saxons, and Edward the Confessor. They are often portrayed separately - and often together, and they are found in every type of decorative art.

The important episode in Edmund's story was his

1 Archaeologia, LIX (1904), 158.

2 Keyser and Husebeth furnish a list of the fifteenth century representations found in the eastern counties, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, L, 256. Excluding representations of Edmund and Edward, the following portrayals are known:
Ethelbert: windows at Wells, Hereford, and All Souls, Oxford; bas relief at Hereford; screen at Burnhamnorton.
Kenelm: murals at Halesowen and St. Kenelms; screens at Chester and woodbridge.
Ethelbald: window at Cockayne-Hatley.
Lucius: window at York Minster, Henry V's tapestry.
Eilfred: screen at Hexham.
Oswin and Oswy: windows at York Minster.
Osewald: windows at Cockayne-Hatley, York Minster, Methley, and All Souls, Oxford.
To these in time was added Henry VI.

death, and he is shown always with arrows - the symbol of his martyrdom. The representations are most frequently found in East Anglia, but they are certainly not restricted to that district. As one might expect, Bury St. Edmund had the most elaborately portrayed story of the martyr. It was shown on eleven hangings that were near his shrine - and that told his story from the coronation through the astonishing activities of his body after the murder. The scenes are: The Coronation; the embassy from Hinguar and Hubba bidding him to submit; the battle, with Edmund's defeat; his being beaten with clubs and shot with arrows; his soul's reception into heaven; his body's being decapitated - the head cast into some bushes and being guarded by a wolf; pictures of the incorrupt head and body apart in the woods; the head's calling "Here," to the searchers and being joined to the body; the wolf's following those men who carry away the corpse; the proud noble Leofstan's insisting on seeing the body, his going mad, and being eaten by worms. Following the series was a rather large composition (description in the MS Arundel 30) of Edmund's killing Sweyn. This story was repeated in a series of six pictures (windows or carvings) around the shrine: the first division showed the concourse of people who came to thank Edmund for deliverance from Sweyn; the other five told the story from the monk Ailwin's embassy to Sweyn's death.

In addition to the statue, already noted, on the west front of Wells Cathedral, there are six foliated capitals which give an account of the intrepid martyr-king.¹ He was presented alone on a vestment at St. Paul's in 1295,² and was modeled in a silver image willed by Edmund, the Earl of March, to the Abbey of Wigmore in 1382.³ The most complete account of his life, after the hangings at Bury, is given in a mid-fourteenth century set of murals at Pickering Church, Yorkshire.⁴ A mural in the north aisle of Slapton, Northamptonshire, recorded his martyrdom;⁵ and he was pictured with bishop at Whaddon.⁶ During the fifteenth century his fame did not diminish. The accounts of Christ Church, Canterbury, recorded an image in 1418.⁷ He was shown in painted glass at Hardwick Hall during the early century,⁸ and later at Gillingham, Dorset.

With Edward the Confessor, the four evangelists, and God in majesty, Edmund was seen in murals on the walls of the round chapel at Woodstock in 1232.⁹ In 1335 the two

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- 1 Francis Bond, Wood Carvings in English Churches, II Stalls and Tabernacle Work (Oxford University Press, 1910), p. 7.
 - 2 William Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London (London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, and Jones, 1818), p. 319.
 - 3 A Collection of All the Royal Wills, Now Known to Be Extant, of the Kings and Queens of England, edited by John Nichols (London: J. Nichols, 1780), p. 108.
 - 4 Wall, *op. cit.*, chapter X.
 - 5 Burlington Magazine, XXI, 318.
 - 6 Archaeological Journal, XLXIX, 333.
 - 7 Christ Church, Canterbury, ed. by George Searle, printed for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1902, p. 18.
 - 8 Burlington Magazine, XLVII, 88.
 - 9 Liberate Rolls, 17 Henry III, m. 10.

1
kings were shown together in a window at York Minster;
and, during the late fourteenth century, Richard II was
painted on the Wilton diptych with his three protectors:
John the Baptist, Edward, and Edmund. Here John holds a
lamb; Edward, a ring; Edmund, an arrow. The grasp that
the two kings had on the minds of the people is instanced
in the fifteenth century by carvings placed together
around the representation of the Annunciation in Henry V's
chantry chapel. They were less frequently portrayed after
that time.

Henry III, if one may judge by the records of the
paintings he ordered made in his various palaces had two
favorites among English heroes - his uncle, Richard I, and
Edward the Confessor. No less than five times by his direc-
tions was Edward's story painted: on the walls of the chapel
of St. John in the Tower of London,² against the west gable
of the Queen's chapel at Winchester,³ in the chapel and on
the door jambs opposite the king's bed at Westminster,⁴ and
finally in the Chapel at Guildford Castle in 1260.⁵ There
were, besides, in the chapter house at Westminster floor
tiles on which were Edward and John as pilgrims.⁶ A thir-

1 Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

2 Liberate Rolls, 25 Henry III, m. 20.

3 Pope Innocent decreed a general observance of translation
of Edward in 1243.

3 *Ibid.*, 32 Henry III, m. 6.

4 Close Rolls, 1251-53, p. 290.

5 John Gage Rokewode, "An Account of the Painted Chamber in
the Royal Palace at Westminster," *Society of Antiquaries,
Vetusta Monumenta*, VI (1842), 37.

6 Burlington Magazine, XXX, 133.

teenth century bas-relief is behind the altar in the Confessor's chapel at Westminster.¹ The series portrays Edward's life in fourteen scenes: the judging of Queen Emma,² the birth of Edward, his coronation on Easter day, his release of the Danegelt because he saw a demon dancing on the caskets, the robbery by the steward and the youth, the vision shared by him and Earl Leofric as he partook of the Eucharist, his vision of the coming and the drowning of the King of Denmark, the contest between Harold and Tosti, his vision of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, his giving the ring to John the Evangelist - a scene which occupies twice as much space as any other; his power of healing - illustrated by blind men's being cured after having washed their faces in the water in which the king had washed his hands, his receiving the ring from the pilgrims, and his death at the dedication of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster.

The most popular incident in Edward's story was his giving the ring to John the Evangelist. It was portrayed -

1 Carter, op. cit., pp. 63-67.

2 The popularity of this incident is suggested by the description in the Prologue of Piers Plowman ll. 98-103.

Bakers, butchers, and brewers many,
Woollen weavers, and weavers of linen,
Tailors, tanners, and fullers also,
Masons, miners, and many other crafts,
Ditchers and delvers, that do their work ill,
And drive forth the long day with "Dieu vous
sauve. dame Emma."

not always with other episodes - in each of the representations mentioned so far. John Gage Rokewood in his "Account of the Painted Chamber in the Royal Palace at Westminster," added five others¹ from the thirteenth century; they were over the court of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas in Westminster Hall, over the gate into the Dean's Yard, hangings in the choir, painted glass in the south aisle of the church, and in Romford Chapel, Essex. Attempt at a realistic portrait was perhaps made in a painting of 1308: in the representation of Edward and John, the king has white hair and beard; he is said to have been an albino.² There is listed among the embroidered altar cloths in the 1388 Westminster inventory a frontal of late thirteenth century date on which was portrayed the life of the Confessor.

During the fourteenth century the popularity continued. In the accounts of St. Stephen's Chapel (6 Edward III) Master Richard of Reading is paid for making "by taskwork in gross" two images, John as a pilgrim and Edward, for the gable of the chapel. Edward with the ring is in fourteenth century windows in the sanctuary at Westminster Abbey, as well as at Wrangle, Lincolnshire, and at Cockayne, Bedfordshire.⁴ He was on an alb at Westminster in 1388; and the citizens of London, on the restoration of their privileges

1 Vetusta Monumenta, VI, 37.

2 Walpole Society, I, 74.

3 Archaeologia, LII, 228.

4 Nelson, op. cit., pp. 51, 146.

by Richard II gave a tablet of St. Edward to his shrine.¹

Several fifteenth century windows honor the Confessor with the story about him and John; in one in the church at Ross, Herefordshire, the king holds a church,² an unusual accompaniment. His story was also on a corporal case at St. Albans, and with the Nativity on an altar cloth enriched by gold needlework and pearl studding at Westminster.³ It was also shown on a mural, now lost, in a private house at Bury⁴ and often in wall paintings in churches.

The use of the story centered, certainly in Westminster; and its popularity began with Henry III's interest in it.

A king who did not become a saint, but whose romantic life became the subject of yet more romantic stories - hardly less impossible than the ones which grew up around Edmund and Edward - was Richard I. His popularity in decorative arts began, as did Edward's, with Henry III and continued through the fourteenth century. Henry in 1250 ordered painted at Clarendon "historiam Antioch" and "duellum Regi (sic) Rici."⁵ If the history of Antioch means, as Lethaby thinks,⁶ the account of Richard's activities in the Holy

1 J. B. Nichols, A Brief Account of the Guildhall of the City of London, (London, 1819) PP. 12-13.

2 Nelson, op. cit., p. 99.

3 London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, IV, 355.

4 Wall, op. cit., p. 111.

5 Liberate Rolls, 35 Henry III.

6 Walpole Society, II, 69.

Land, the story was ordered repeated, and the order cancelled, the next year in the King's room at the Tower of London.¹ Twice more during 1251 Richard's deeds were portrayed - both times at Westminster. The first painting was on the walls of the Queen's "low room" in the King's garden at Westminster, and the pictures were to be drawn from the illustrations of a French book, "Gesta Antiochi," that belonged to R. de Sanford, Master of the Knights-Templar in England.²

The second one was in another room in the palace - a room which was thereafter to be called "cameram Antioch'".³ The Chertsey tiles (1260-70) depicting two scenes from the legendary life of Richard have been mentioned, and the episode of the lion was carved on a boss at Hailes Abbey.⁴

The popularity of the stories continued in the four-

1 "Mandatum est eidem Eduuards quod depingi faciat historiam Antioch in camera capellanorum regis Turris Londonie sicut ei dicet Thomas Espervit. quia non habuit." Close Rolls, 1247-51, 454.

Richard Davey, Tower of London (London, 1910) P. 48, says that the principal room of the Lantern Tower was decorated with a tapestry telling the story of "Antiochus." I have been unable to trace the tapestry.

2 "Mandatum est fratri R. de Sanford', magistro milicie Templi in Anglia, quod faciat habere Henrico de Warderoba, latori presencium, ad opus regine, quendam librum magnum, qui est in domo sua Lond', gallico ydidiomati scriptum, in quo continentur gesta Antiochie et regum et aliorum," Close Rolls, 1247-51, p. 283.

3 "...et in eadem camera unum caminum fieri faciat quam quidem cameram Antioch' volumus appellare." Close Rolls, 1247-51, p. 464.

4 Burlington Magazine, XXX, 138.

teenth century. Richard came, at least once, to be connected with a warrior even more renowned for his bravery. William Brangwayne, a vintner, left to his son in 1361 a "dorser" of "King Richard and Ector of Troy."¹ The royal family's interest continued too. In the tapestries listed in the wardrobe accounts of 35 Edward III is one called "de passu Saladini."² The Black Prince in 1376 willed to his son "la sale d'arras du pas de Saladyn,"³ and in Richard's own inventory (1400) were listed two "de Regi Ricardo," whether parts of the earlier set or not one cannot know. Oddly enough, this record of the hero of the lion's heart is the last mention I have found of him in medieval art.

The man whose story most appealed to the minds of English artists was not, however, a king; he was an archbishop for whose death a king did voluntary penance. More than any other saint,⁴ more than any other historical character, in all districts and in all periods after his death, Becket was admired and pictured. His story was, however, almost exclusively in ecclesiastical decoration and exists

1 Husting Wills, II, 41.

2 E101/394/9, m. 16.

3 Royal Wills, p. 72.

4 There are more existing representations of Christopher than of Becket; but when one considers the destruction and marring of pictures of "Bishop Becket" ordered by Henry VIII and then considers the number remaining, he realizes that Becket must have been the more popular.

To Christopher was attributed the power to save from bodily harm, but Becket was able to cure, if not prevent, any kind of trouble.

now chiefly in wall-paintings, windows, and thirteenth century Limoges chasses. The most interesting exceptions to these types are his effigy on a streamer for a ship called "Cog Thomas" (1345-49),¹ a leaden crismatory of the thirteenth century at Evesham, Worcestershire, and a casket at Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire. The last two represent the murder, and the casket depicts Becket's soul being carried heavenward in a halo.

The subject of the iconography of Becket has been dealt with thoroughly in a recent article by Tancred Borenius,² so that it is necessary to add very little here. Borenius points out that Becket is figured sometimes merely as archbishop, with no symbol of his martyrdom. Examples of this representation are found in all centuries, and are best illustrated by the pilgrims' signs of the bust of St. Thomas and of him on horseback. It will be recalled that Becket distinguished himself both as a great traveler and as a good horseman - so that the sign on horseback is fitting. He is shown also with the symbol of his martyrdom - a sword, which he usually holds inverted,³ or holding the crown of his

¹ Archaeologia, XXXI, 136.

² Archaeologia, LXXIX, 29.

³ Corona, Canterbury Cathedral, thirteenth century window. This item from 1418 is interesting in this connection; Item. "in uno paruo ymage in navi ecclesie in honorem sancti Thome cum quatuor gladiis (*italics mine*) in manu sua." Christ Church Canterbury, p. 18.

head in his hand,¹ or with a wound across his head.² At Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, there was a mural - now lost - which showed one of the murderers a suppliant to Thomas. His miracles are shown at Canterbury; there are fragments of a series of scenes presenting his life and miracles in the northern window of the Chapter House, York Minster, and others now preserved at the Bodleian Library. There must have been also short series over the whole country; one such is suggested by murals around the former altar of Becket in the south transept of the Church in the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester. Two scenes - the murder and the preceding supper - flank the image of Becket at St. Mary's Church, Stow, Lincolnshire.

Medieval people were most interested, of course, in that event of Becket's life which made him a martyr. There is no pictorial record of the very romantic story of his parentage or of his very interesting life at Henry's court. He is shown once with another St. Thomas - de Cantelupe, Bishop of Hereford - evidently for the purpose of dignifying the latter, since the window is at Credenhill, Herefordshire; an early fifteenth century (1425-39) window at Nettlestead Church commemorates the return of Becket from England to France;³ and the penance of Henry II after the murder was

1 West front Wells Cathedral, thirteenth century sculpture.

2 Fairford Church, fifteenth century window.

3 Archaeologia Cantiana, VI, 129.

presented at least twice.¹ Nothing, however, was generally so interesting as the murder; and, to intensify the sacrilege of the crime,² the archbishop is nearly always represented as saying mass or close to an altar. Thus did medieval piety neglect the very valiant defense Becket made for himself against the murderers. That his actual conduct did not make more appeal than the lamb-to-the-slaughter idea inculcated by the religious exaggeration of his virtue is an indication of what the church wanted to emphasize in the lives of its heroes.

Becket was murdered in 1170. Within a very few years two collections of his miracles were written by monks at Canterbury. The earlier one was by a certain Benedict, who became later the Abbot of Peterborough; the later one, by a monk William, is longer - and evidently was more pleasing to the monastery, because it was presented by the monks to Henry II. The books narrate literally hundreds of miracles - from physical and mental cures to the recovery of stolen goods, the revival of dead animals, and admonitory accounts of what happened to people who vowed pilgrimages to

1 Early fourteenth century glass, pictured in John Carter's Specimens, pp. 51-52, Plate XXXVII; fifteenth century glass now in Bodleian Library - the penance pictured with the homage paid to Henry by William the Lion, Nelson, op. cit., 165.

2 Preston, Suffolk; St. John's, Winchester.

Becket's shrine and failed to fulfil the vows.¹ Some of these miracles form the subject matter of the six early thirteenth century windows in Trinity Chapel. Here are represented some thirty miracles - most of them involving more than one scene: the representation of the restoration of Eilward's eye, has five; that of William of Kellet, whose badly cut leg was healed, has six; that of the knight named Jordan, who delayed in fulfilling his vow, has nine.² The most interesting window of the series is the fifth one; here are shown the chapel of St. Thomas, the shrine, and the saint with his pastoral staff coming out of it to bless the historian of his miracles, who lies in bed beneath.

Other English persons who became saints should be mentioned here. One is the first English martyr, St. Alban. His artistic popularity was greater in the early middle ages

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- 1 It is worth suggesting, perhaps, that the Cook and the Sommoner of The Canterbury Tales hoped to be cured of their skin diseases by the pilgrimage to Becket's shrine. Benedict listed three cures of ulcers or sores; and William, of ten. The cures of leprosy were numerous - Odo of Beaumont was cured of the kind contracted in carnal sin. The wife of Bath may have known, too, that Symon de Canteln and the daughter of William of Northampton were cured of deafness by the intervention of St. Thomas. See Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, ed. by James Craigie Robertson, Rolls Series, (London, 1875-76), I, 176, 178, 190, 294, 349, 413, 445, 472, 498, 213-16, 219-22, 330-40, 403, 447; II, 68, 139, 153.
- 2 These windows are fully discussed by Nelson, op.cit., p. 107-116; and by A. J. Mason, A Guide to the Ancient Glass in Canterbury Cathedral (Canterbury, 1925) p. 30 ff.

than it was later. The earliest record of his story in the pictorial arts is a hanging given by Germanus (1097-1119) to the monastery of St. Alban, "in quo Passio Sancti Albani figuratur."¹ The next earliest was a gift by the Abbot

Geoffrey (1119-46) to the same house, "dossale magum in quo² intexitur Inventio Sancti Albani cujus campus et aureus."

On the west front of Wells Cathedral he is represented as a youth with a sword,³ and after that not often - though he was considered worthy of occasional recognition as late as the fifteenth century⁴ when Lydgate wrote his Life of St.

Alban. The story of St. Alban is old - it was told by Gildas and Bede, who called him "clericus quidam." His popularity waned as the interest in his story gave way to that in Edmund's or Edward's or Richard's, and as that in all others diminished before Becket's.

The artistic acknowledgment of the work done by other early English ecclesiastics is an interesting phase of the study of the use of history in the decorative arts. Some of these churchmen were honored only in districts in

1 Thomas Walsingham, Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, edited by Henry Thos. Riley (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), I, 70.

2 Ibid., p. 94.

3 Archaeologia, LIX, 156.

4 Window - Beauchamp Chapel, Archaeologia, LXI, 602; a pictured window in a fresco, Eton College Chapel, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, XXV, 105.

which they had lived as hermits, bishops, or archbishops.¹
Often these representations are very elaborate. The twelfth century series of windows depicting the activities of Birinus at Dorchester and the carved capitals on which eight scenes of Etheldreda's life are shown at Ely are examples.

Oddly enough, historical saints recognized outside their own districts are a bit more numerous, though the

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- 1 Guthlac: buried at Croyland, thirteenth century carving at Croyland.
Birinus: twelfth and fourteenth century windows at Dorchester Abbey.
Thomas de Cantelope, Bishop of Hereford: thirteenth century windows at Credenhill and at Eaton-Bishop; fifteenth century windows at Ross and at Canterbury (Canterbury is outside the district)
Plegmund: fourteenth century statue at Canterbury.
Burlock: fourteenth century window at Norbury.
Mellitus: fourteenth century window at Westminster.
Gulval: fourteenth century window at Laneast.
Kentigern: fifteenth century tapestry at Glasgow.
Wulstan: fifteenth century windows at Oddingley and Great Malvern.
Alcmund, Acca, Eata: screen at Hexham.
Egwin: fifteenth century window at Eversham.
Melangell: fifteenth century screen at Pennant Melangell.
Etheldreda: capitals of columns at Ely; fresco at Eton College Chapel; screen at Walborough.
Werburgh: (with her ancestors) statues at Chester; misericord at Chester.
Asyth: fifteenth century window at Long Melford.
Egburge: murals at Pinvin.
Everildus: fifteenth century window at Poppleton.

representations themselves are as a rule less extensive.

Several of these ecclesiastics are found only in the elaborate and unusual late fifteenth century window at Wiggenhall. Few enjoyed any extensive popularity.

Canonized English ecclesiastics whose deeds were recognized somewhat more widely are a bit less numerous. Chadd, connected during his life with Lindisfarne and buried

1 Hugh of Lincoln: thirteenth century window at St. Michael's Church, Oxford; fourteenth century window at New College; fifteenth century window at St. Michael's le Belfrey, York.

William of Perth: thirteenth century mural at Frindsbury Church.

Theobald: thirteenth century image at St. Paul's; fifteenth century screen at Hempstead.

Patrick: fourteenth century crosier at Limerick.

Caedd: fourteenth century paneling at Hereford Cathedral.

Boniface: fourteenth century window at Wells.

Asaph: fourteenth century window at Tor Brian.

Paulinus: fourteenth century window at New College, Oxford; fifteenth century windows at the Church of the Holy Trinity and the Chapter House at York.

St. Govan: fourteenth century misericord at St. David's.

Albinus: fifteenth century window at Wiggenhall.

Aldhelm: fifteenth century representations at Wiggenhall, at Cothelstone, and twice at Wells.

Richard: fifteenth century mural at St. Albans; fifteenth century window at York Chapter House.

Osmund of Salisbury: fifteenth century representation at Cirencester.

John of Bridlington: fifteenth century windows at Ludlow and in Beauchamp Chapel.

Finan: fifteenth century window at York.

Botolph: fifteenth century window at Wiggenhall.

at Lichfield, is pictured, perhaps, in a twelfth century window at Brereton.¹ Later he was represented over the door at Lichfield, and in a fifteenth century window at Norbury.²

The representation at Canterbury of the capture of Alphage by the Danes has been noted elsewhere. In 1075 there was at Canterbury an image of him, and in 1321 he was represented on a "pallia pro altaribus" with Dunstan. During the later fourteenth century he was painted on a window at New College, and similarly at Alfriston.

Bishop Wilfrid of York was represented in a twelfth century window in the Lavatory Tower at Canterbury,³ in a fourteenth century window of the choir clerestory at York,⁴ and later at South Muskham, Nottinghamshire.⁵

Dunstan was in two early thirteenth century windows at Canterbury, and in fourteenth century ones at Cockayne Hatley, Well, and Trinity College Library, Oxford. He was with St. Martin - on a fifteenth century tapestry made for St. Albans or Canterbury, on a screen of that period at Heavitree,⁶ and in windows at All Soul's College, Oxford, Ludlow, Shropshire, and Cothelstone, Somerset.

1 Archaeologia, X, 53.

2 Nelson, op.cit., p. 72.

3 Ibid., p. 120.

4 Ibid., p. 259.

5 Ibid., p. 160.

6 Keyser, List of Murals, p. 129.

The miracles of John of Beverley, Wilfrid's predecessor at York, were recorded by Bede; but the earliest artistic record of them comes from the will of Richard de Ravenser, who died in 1386. He lists a "hall adorned" with them.¹ John was pictured later, during the fifteenth century, in a window at Cirencester, and on screens at Hexham and St. Mary's, Beverley.²

Anselm was in a fourteenth century window at New College, Oxford, and in fifteenth century ones at Christ Church College and at Canterbury.³ Swithin, Bishop of Winchester, was pictured there in the Chapel of the Hospital of St. Cross about 1395,⁴ and on a mural within the splay of a window at the same place.⁵ He was represented about the same time in a window at Trinity College, Oxford, and later at Wiggenhall.

William of York, Bishop of Salisbury, died suddenly in 1154 after a far from happy or successful ecclesiastical career. He was canonized in 1226 because of miracles performed at his tomb; but there exists no artistic record of him from a time previous to the fourteenth century. From that period through the next hundred years he was frequently represented. The first portrayal was on a window at York

1 Lincoln Archaeological Society, I.

2 Keyser, List of Murals, p. 366.

3 Nelson, op. cit., pp. 169, 119.

4 Ibid., p. 97.

5 Keyser, List of Murals, p. 282.

Minster, where incidents of his life were pictured and a
portrait was attempted.¹ About the same time he was
painted among other churchmen in a window at Trinity Col-
lege Library, Oxford. During the fifteenth century at the
York Chapter House was a window in which were represented²
his life, the miracles after his death, and his translation.³
He was pictured there also in the choir clerestory.³ Other
Yorkshire windows devoted to him during that period were in
the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, at All Saints, at west Tan-
field, and at Winteringham.⁴ Outside that district he was⁵
pictured in windows at Cirencester, and at North Tudden-
ham, on screens at Woolborough and Garboldesham, and in a
mural at St. Albans Abbey.

Cuthbert was also frequently portrayed. His legend
was represented at Carlisle Cathedral on murals back of the
stalls.⁶ At Pittington, on the jambs of the Norman clere-
story are two scenes from his life: his consecration as bish-
op and his vision at Ailfraed's table.⁷ At Methley, York-
shire, he is pictured with the head of St. Oswald, King of
Northumbria.⁸ At York Minster are shown, in a window that

1 Nelson, op. cit., p. 248.

2 Ibid., pp. 254-5.

3 Ibid., p. 259.

4 Ibid., pp. 238, 232, 223, 219.

5 Ibid., p. 90.

6 Keyser, List of Murals, p. 56.

7 Ibid., p. 199.

8 Nelson, op. cit., p. 227.

matches in size and coloring the one devoted to the life of William, six scenes. They represent his childhood, his monastic life at Melrose, Ripon, and Lindisfarne, his retirement to Farne Island, his being Bishop of Lindisfarne, his¹ second retirement and death, and the posthumous miracles. His vision of Aidan's death was pictured during the fifteen-²th century at Carlisle.

Aidan himself was pictured only during the fifteenth century - in a window at Winteringham, Yorkshire, and on a screen at Woolborough.

Samson, sixth century bishop and confessor in South Wales, was pictured during the fifteenth century in windows at St. Sampson, Cornwall, St. Sampson, York, and Wiggenhall. His associate, St. Winnow, is shown only in a fifteenth cen-³tury window at St. Winnow, Cornwall.

The portrayal of pseudo-historical saints is clearly a movement which had its real beginning in the fourteenth cen-⁴tury, and reached its height during the fifteenth. In the group are numbered many individual saints, most of them being pictured only once or twice. No other saint had any such vogue as did Becket. It may be suggested that the late enthus-

1 Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

2 Keyser, *List of Murals*, p. 56.

Less important representations dating from the mid-fourteenth century through the fifteenth are in windows at Edenhall, Emneth, Wiggenhall, Christ Church, Oxford, Cothelstone, Winteringham, and on screens at Hexham and Woodbridge.

3 Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

4 See tables on pages 70 and 71.

iasm for historical saints is possibly a phase of the effort made by the church during the last of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries to offset, by an insistence on its historical authority, the growing heresies that were undermining its influence in England.

This, then, is the story of historical material in the medieval English decorative arts. It began, if one may judge by the earliest extant examples, by picturing authentic¹ history. The representations were of men and events actually known in the localities in which the stories were represented. As people sanctified the deeds and the characters of various men, or romanced about them, art reflected those tendencies. The true life of Edward the Confessor, for instance, was as lost to medieval history as it was to medieval art. The impossible feats of Alexander and Richard were written stories; and the miracles of Becket were vouched for by eye witnesses - at least Benedict and William said they were. These representations flourished most in the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the early fifteenth centuries. In the late fourteenth century one finds that individuals began to desire to perpetuate outstanding incidents in their lives - and there is again authentic material: Robert Braunché's peacock feast, Fastolf's tapestry of the siege of

¹ Edward A. Freeman used the Bayeux tapestry as one of the chief historical documents for his History of the Norman Conquest of England; See III, 563-72.

Falaise, and the later representations of marriages that were important in the late fifteenth century. Historical saints, many of whose stories had been recounted in the Northern or the Southern Legendaries or in the Golden Legend but not in the decorative arts, came into artistic prominence during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. No one of these was widely popular. The existence, however, of representations of so many different ones in varied locations during the same period points to an ecclesiastic interest in native church dignitaries that reflects an important phase of medieval English life.

